Religious Polemic and Huguenot Self-Perception and Identity, 1554-1619

Jean Crespin's Book of Martyrs is perhaps the single most important text for the elaboration of a distinct Huguenot identity. First published in 1554, it went through several editions before the definitive edition produced by Simon Goulard in 1619. Between those two dates, the Huguenots had achieved a modicum of political recognition with the Edict of Nantes of 1598, a precarious end to forty years of civil war. Crespin's Book of Martyrs celebrates the exemplary deaths of French-speaking men and women who suffered persecution under the Valois monarchy. It relied on the testimony of individuals who flocked to Geneva to flee from persecution, a phenomenon which has been well studied. What is perhaps less well understood is the debt the Book of Martyrs owes to the Catholic adversary and to the English and Lutheran traditions. The elaboration of Huguenot self-perception and identity did not take place in a vacuum. It resulted from a dialectic, often hostile, between Catholic polemic and Huguenot response. The Book of Martyrs resorted to the English and Lutheran traditions to respond to specific arguments that were made by Catholic polemicists. Catholic contributions to the Reformation debate in France have long suffered from historiographical oversight. This essay seeks to redress the balance in emphasizing the role that Catholic, English and Lutheran arguments played in the elaboration of Huguenot identity, as reflected in the Book of Martyrs.

***

Before the outbreak of the French Wars of Religion, the persecutions under the reign

of Henri II gave Huguenots the occasion to draw on a comparison with the early church. To die for one's faith was not in itself a sign of election and to call those burned at the stake 'martyrs' reflects a certain ideological standpoint. At their trial, Huguenots were asked to recant their 'heresy' and return to the bosom of the Roman and Apostolic Church. It was obstinacy, and not heresy as such, that was punishable by death. For Huguenots, obstinacy was a sign that one was unwilling to compromise one's faith and to be killed was to be martyred. As Brad Gregory pointed out in Salvation at Stake, martyrdom was a cultural representation which depended on one's interpretation of execution.[1]

The Genevan reformer Guillaume Farel was one of the first to write about martyrdom in the French speaking world.[2] But it was Calvin, by giving it pride of place in his work, who contributed most to the dissemination of the culture of martyrdom. For Calvin, it was preferable to suffer death than to participate in Catholic worship. In his 1543 pamphlet against Nicodemites, Calvin called upon the example of St Cyprian who suffered martyrdom rather than worship idols.[3] Calvin's approach to martyrdom is revealed in his letters written to French prisoners at the height of the persecutions during the reign of Henri II. Calvin urged his co-religionists to remain firm in their faith and maintained that their death was a proof of their election:

> Persecutions are the true combats of Christians to try the constancy and firmness of their faith ... It has been said of old that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. If it is a seed from which we derive our origin in Jesus Christ, it should also be a shower to water us that we may grow and make progress, even so

as to die well.[4]

The dissemination of the culture of martyrdom did not go unchallenged. Catholics resorted to the dictum found in Augustine that it is not the punishment that makes a martyr but the cause for which he dies.[5] The fact that heretics, such as Arians and Donatists, had also claimed to be martyrs, was used to disprove the validity of the Calvinist cause. These arguments were difficult to answer since Calvinists themselves, such as the Walloon Gui de Brès, used the very same against the Anabaptists.[6] The Polish Cardinal Stanislas Hozius, for example, made the most of this apparent contradiction, and described with a certain irony the 'lust for death' of the Calvinists:

> They have begun to glorify themselves of the number and constancy of their martyrs … Calvin must not boast … that his followers are poor lambs destined to be slaughtered: because the Anabaptists … have done so for many centuries before anyone had even heard of the sacramentarians....[7]

These arguments carried a certain weight given the emphasis placed in martyrologies on the patience with which martyrs suffered death. In place of the Huguenot martyr, the Catholics offered the image of the obstinate heretic. But resort to the stereotypes of heresy fuelled rather than hindered the Huguenot representation of martyrdom. This is nowhere better illustrated than in the polemical exchange which surrounded the Affair of the rue Saint Jacques.

The period which followed the Edict of Compiègnes (1557) marked the crystalization of the Huguenot conception of martyrdom. The discovery of a secret meeting in the rue

Saint Jacques in September 1557, was the occasion for the Huguenots to further elaborate on the culture of martyrdom. It provoked a lengthy polemical exchange between theologians of the University of Paris and ministers who had witnessed the persecutions in Paris. The most important exchange was between Antoine de Mouchy, a key Catholic figure, and Nicolas des Gallars, minister in Paris at the time of the Affair. Des Gallars was a member of Geneva's company of pastors between 1544 and 1554 and volunteered to be minister in Paris between July and September 1557.[8] Following the imprisonment of numerous Huguenots, his Apologie ou defense des vrais chrestiens was published anonymously. In this work, des Gallars set the tone for the Huguenot response to Catholic accusations. The Apologie ou defense des vrais chrestiens made the stock comparison with the early church. Although the original edition has not survived, it was reproduced in its entirety by another Parisian minister, Antoine de la Roche Chandieu, in his Histoire des persecutions. Chandieu recounts the reaction that the Apologie provoked among Catholic theologians:

> This small pamphlet … dispelled the bad reputation that many people had of our assemblies and even encouraged others to make deeper inquiries of our doctrine. Some doctors of the Sorbonne attempted to answer it: but the poor beasts, like in any other things, discovered nothing but their own ignorance. One named Mouchi … wrote an entire book on the punishment of heretics and showed that they must be burned and dealt with fire and swords.[9]

Antoine de Mouchy had published a response to this first tract in 1558, where he accused Huguenots of taking part in orgies under the cover of darkness.[10] Des Gallars

answered de Mouchy directly in a second tract entitled Seconde apologie ou defense des vrais chrestiens.[11] It reproduced entire passages of Tertullian's Apology, a key text of Christian martyrology.[12] Tertullian's dictum that 'the blood of the martyrs is seed' had been used by Protestants in general, and by Calvin in particular.[13] But Tertullian also reported accusations of sexual improprieties used by Romans against Christians. This enabled des Gallars, and others, to strengthen the comparison with the early church martyrs. Chandieu's Histoire des persecutions, which reports the exchange, was itself used in the first folio edition of Crespin's Book of Martyrs published in 1564.

It should be noted that the use of the word 'martyr' made the Geneva city council uncomfortable, and Jean Crespin used the ambiguous 'persons who have endured death' and 'witnesses of the truth of the gospel' instead. It was not until the 1580s that these reservations were lifted and the title Book of Martyrs was used.[14] The stock comparison with the early church implied another between the French crown and the Roman tyrants who had persecuted Christians. This spoke too much of political insurrection for the taste of the Geneva city council that was always weary of its difficult diplomatic position.[15]

Indeed, the culture of martyrdom grew in parallel with a policy of conformity with the laws of the Prince, which did not go without a certain ambiguity. At the time of the martyrdom of Cyprian, the cult of the emperors was law, and the refusal of the Saint to worship 'idols' was in itself akin to political insurrection. The model of martyrdom held by Calvin was therefore associated with political disobedience. The outbreak of the Wars of Religion provided Catholic polemicists with further arguments to associate the

Huguenot movement with political disobedience.

***

In the 1560s, Catholic theologians discredited the myth of the Huguenot martyr with accusations of political insurrection. In March 1560, at Amboise, Protestant plotters attempted to rid the court of the Guise's influence. The 'Tumult of Amboise' marked the time when French Protestants started to be called 'Huguenots' and were irremediably associated with civil disobedience.[16] In January 1561, Charles IX wrote to Calvin asking him to stop the flow of books from Geneva which were thought to have triggered the conspiracy.[17] In a very carefully worded letter to the King, Calvin denied knowledge of the plot and condemned any Genevan citizens or ministers who may have been involved.[18] In appeasing the King, Calvin was following the recommendations of the Geneva city council that tried at every turn to avoid diplomatic complications with the French crown.[19] In a recent essay, Philip Benedict has brought new light on the discrepancies that lay between Geneva's official support of royal authority and the involvement of Genevan ministers in acts of rebellion. He argues that the image of Calvinism as law-abiding (largely reproduced in the historiography) is the result of careful engineering on the part of the Geneva city council and Calvin himself.[20]

The politicization of the conflict, after Amboise, damaged the image of the Huguenot as an innocent victim, although it was continuously used throughout the wars.[21] Resort to armed rebellion could no longer be squared with the image of the Huguenot martyr that was disseminated by Crespin. Furthermore, the modes of execution of heretics changed from burning to hanging as the 'theatre of execution' increasingly resulted in

scenes of violence and disorder. This shift from burning to hanging was motivated by an attempt to prevent spontaneous outbreaks of popular violence as audiences increasingly wanted to participate in the heretic's death.[22] Whereas the burning of heretics had provided a platform for the 'theatre of martyrdom', hanging (a fate reserved to common criminals) denied the Huguenots their martyrdom. This movement to turn heresy into a political crime went hand in hand with a polemical campaign to portray Huguenots as dangerous agitators and rebels.

The death of Henri II marked the emergence of conspiracy theories on both sides of the confessional divide as Huguenot and Catholic factions vied for control at court. In the polemical flood that followed the Tumult of Amboise, each faction accused the other of wanting to usurp the throne. The theme of a Huguenot conspiracy began to emerge. François Hotman, one of the instigators of Amboise, provides us with a good example of the arguments that were used:

> Knowing that a great number of Lutherans or Evangelists, as they are called, were involved in the enterprise, the Gospel was blamed for everything. And everywhere in France the news is spread that those who have risen are Lutherans: that their goal was to kill the King, the Queen, the Lords his brothers, and all the Princes: to promote their Religion with sword strokes, to abolish the Monarchy of France, and to reduce it to a kind of Republic.[23]

Although these accusations were a far cry from what was intended at Amboise, they presented a serious challenge to the representation of Huguenots as innocent martyrs. The Tumult of Amboise had irreparably damaged the credibility of the

Huguenots who were now on the defensive. After the death of François II, many Huguenot tracts were addressed to the Regent, Catherine de Médicis, who had managed to restore balance at court between the vying factions. Augustin Marlorat, in his Remonstrance a la royne mere du Roy, attempted to dismiss the conspiracy theory as a clumsy alternative to even more outlandish accusations:

> Our adversaries … try to convince the King and yourself that our assemblies are nothing but a pretext for a dissolute licence to take part in an orgy …. But seeing that it is a lie that cannot be proven …. They find another, that is more easily received, that we meet to plot to kill the King and the nobility … and it would be surprising if they could not find, among those that they cruelly put to death, one who could confirm their lies.[24]

Catholics had indeed moved away from accusations of sexual deviance, which had provided the Huguenots with ammunition in their comparison with the early church martyrs. It is clear that this shift to accusations of a political plot to take over the kingdom made Marlorat uneasy. The Huguenot response after Amboise was increasingly defensive and clumsy, often turning accusations around and resorting to petty personal attacks.

For example, the fact that the Affair of the rue Saint Jacques coincided with the defeat of St Quentin led Catholics and Huguenots to accuse one another of having plotted against the kingdom.[25] A pamphlet addressed to Catherine de Médicis, La Maniere d'appaiser les troubles, pointed to the Guise as the source of these accusations. Another anonymous work, the Complainte apologique des eglises de France, turned the

Catholic accusation on its head and blamed the duke of Guise for the defeat of St Quentin.[26] The Maniere d'appaiser les troubles also attributed the defeat of St Quentin and the death of Henri II to divine providence. [27] The death of François II, which rid the court of the influence of the Guise, had been welcomed by Calvin himself: 'has the death of a king ever been more providential?'.[28] Providentialism and the belief that persecutors would die horribly was an important component of Protestant martyrology but it also provided Catholics with arguments for a Huguenot plot.[29]

Although Jean Crespin drew on such polemical material for the compilation of his Book of Martyrs, any adversarial or political comments were carefully left out. For example Crespin omitted how de Mouchy and the Cardinal of Lorraine had gathered false witnesses to incriminate the Huguenots in the eyes of the Queen.[30] This allegation, found in the tracts of Chandieu and Marlorat, was nonetheless included in the monumental Histoire Ecclesiastique (1580).[31] This indicates that the reservations about polemic that had concerned the Genevan authorities in the 1560s had been tempered in the 1580s. This is reflected in the editions of the Book of Martyrs that appeared from 1582 onwards under the editorship of Simon Goulard.

***

After 1562 the myth of the innocent Huguenot martyr was losing credibility as the Catholic accusations of civil disobedience took flesh with the revolt of the Prince of Condé.[32] Huguenot polemicists understood this well and turned to writing vindictive pamphlets against the Catholic adversary, notably theologians of the University of Paris and the Guise. The massacre of St Bartholomew's Day increased this trend as the

Huguenot movement lost all remaining illusions of political obedience to the monarch. In the eyes of the Huguenots, the King had turned into a tyrant who could legitimately be removed by force. It has been argued that the emergence of the Monarchomachs removed all the remaining credit that Huguenot martyrdom might have had.[33] I should like to argue, however, that the massacre of St Bartholomew's Day gave a new lease of life to the theme of Huguenot martyrdom.

The massacre of St Bartholomew's Day provoked a transformation of Huguenot self-perception and identity which is reflected in the subsequent editions of the Book of Martyrs. Jean Crespin died in 1572, and his work was taken up by Simon Goulard who published four editions in 1582, 1597, 1608 and 1619. In a section devoted to the massacre of St Bartholomew's Day, Goulard introduced a distinction between individual and collective martyrdom:

> If we call Martyrs those that were executed one by one by justice, what shall we call so many thousands of excellent figures who were martyred in one fell swoop, not by one executioner, but by a multitude of commoners whose swords were the plaintiffs, witnesses, judges, sentences and executioners of the strangest cruelties that have ever been perpetrated against the Church?[34]

Jean Crespin had primarily been concerned with the individual martyrdom of his contemporary co-religionists whose names figure in the Book of Martyrs. Simon Goulard extended the status of martyr to medieval heretics who had been persecuted by the thousands. The massacre of St Bartholomew's Day thus opened the door to a comparison with the atrocities that the Catholic Church had perpetrated across the ages.

Unlike individual martyrs who had died at the hand of the king's justice, medieval heretics had suffered a collective and anonymous martyrdom, sometimes in an open war against temporal and spiritual authority. Their inclusion in the Book of Martyrs from 1582 onwards marked the beginning of a new militancy perhaps more eloquent than the tracts of the Monarchomachs.

This new militancy was no doubt motivated by the perceived involvement of the papacy in the massacre of St Bartholomew's Day, as reflected in Theodore Beza's own words: 'No one can doubt that these events are the result of a plot worked out at the Council of Trent'.[35] Although it is doubtful that the papacy was directly involved in the massacre, this was one of the enduring myth that was identified by Robert Kingdon.[36] As a result, the Book of Martyrs became a work of anti-papal propaganda following in the tracks of English and Lutheran works that had lambasted the papacy for several decades.[37]

This trend can indeed be found in the Lutheran Mathias Flacius Illyricus' Catalogus Testium Veritatis (1556) and the 'Anglican' John Foxe's Acts and Monuments (1563). The Catalogus Testium Veritatis formed the blueprint for all subsequent Protestant history of the True Church. It systematically looked for medieval precedents for the reformers' views and literally compiled a 'catalogue of the witnesses of the truth in the face of papal tyranny'.[38] Behind the work of Flacius Illyricus and John Foxe, lies the idea of a Protestant 'apostolic succession'. In this light, the medieval persecutions of heretics reflect the suffering of the True Church at the hands of the papal antichrist.

Despite the attention given to medieval heretics in French Catholic polemic and parallel movements to turn them into martyrs of the True Church, the Huguenots failed to acknowledge their relevance until after 1572. For example, half a dozen distinct histories of the Albigensian Crusade were published by prominent Catholic figures between 1561 and 1590. [39] As early as the 1540s, Bale had argued that papal persecution of the Cathars was provoked by their resistance to the rise of the papal monarchy.[40] John Foxe included an entire chapter on the Albigensian Crusade in the 1570 edition of the Acts and Monuments.[41] Yet the Albigensians were not mentioned until the 1582 edition of the Book of Martyrs. In the words of Simon Goulard, their inclusion was motivated by the fact that they had been enemies of the papacy:

> As regards those they call heretics, namely the enemies of the Papacy, they are accused of the most horrid crimes in the world, in order to tarnish their reputation further … From the moment the bishop of Rome declared himself to be the universal leader of the Church, there has been people of all kind … who have denounced … the corporeal and spiritual tyranny of the Popes.[42]

The fact that these arguments were not used in a French context before points to the differences that existed between the Huguenots and the other Protestant traditions. In Germany and England, anti-papal arguments had been instrumental in rallying the political elite to the Protestant cause. The conflict between Pope and secular rulers over the control of Church appointments and revenues, was central to the Lutheran and English arguments. The arguments concerning the Investiture Contest had no clout in France because of the specificity of the Gallican Church, bolstered by the Pragmatic

Sanction of 1438 and the Concordat of Bologna in 1516. Whereas the support of secular rulers played a considerable part in the elaboration of Lutheran and 'Anglican' identities, the French monarchy's fluctuating position left the Huguenots to forge their own identity. This might explain why Huguenots clung for so long to the illusion of loyalty to the crown and the striking absence of anti-papal arguments before 1572.

***

With the accession of Henri IV and the Edict of Nantes, the King became the protector of his Huguenot subjects. As it is suggested elsewhere in this volume, this did not provoke the decline of Huguenot militancy, as it has previously been thought, but its transformation.[43] 1598 also marks a shift in Huguenot self-perception and identity, which increasingly defined itself in opposition to the Catholic adversary, not within France, but in Rome. This could now be squared with the policies of the monarchy who, short of endorsing the Protestant movement, had recognized its right to exist. The arguments of the Monarchomachs, that had been used with much better results by the Catholic League, were no longer relevant to the Reformation debate. Rome became the convenient other against whom both the monarchy and its Huguenot subjects could unite. This choice was no doubt motivated by the impact that Catholic reform was beginning to have in Europe. This can be shown by the insistence with which the Huguenot movement identified the Pope as antichrist at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The Genevan Church was at first extremely reluctant to pronounce itself on the antichrist found in the Revelation of John. Calvin himself had avoided teaching on the

Apocalypse and Nicolas Colladon, who published a commentary in 1584, asserted that it was because Calvin himself had not 'fully understood the text'. Theodore Beza was equally cautious in his preface of a commentary on the Revelation by Pinet in 1557.[44] Geneva Bibles included a cautionary warning against abusive interpretations of Revelation that can be found in six different editions published in Geneva, Saumur, Rouen and La Rochelle.[45] Furthermore the national synod of Saumur of 1596 forbade pastors from teaching or preaching on the Apocalypse without the advice of the Provincial Synod.[46]

These warnings, however, were not heeded by Lambert Daneau who published his Traité de l'Antéchrist in Geneva in 1577.[47] In this treatise, Daneau argues that Jerome of Prague and John Hus where the two witnesses of the True Church described in Revelation, implying that the Pope was indeed the Antichrist. The same allegation was made by the Dutch Calvinist Jonius (1545-1602), in his 1592 commentary on Revelation.[48] This commentary was reproduced in subsequent editions of the Geneva Bible and notably in an English edition published in 1607:

> And that this was done to very many godly men, by Boniface and others, the histories doe declare, especially since the time that the odious and condemned name amongst the multitude, first of the brethren Waldonenses or Lugdunenses, then also of the Fraticels, was pretended, that good men might with more approbation be massacred. [49]

This indicates that by the turn of the seventeenth century, the Huguenots had lost their earlier reservations about using the papal antichrist as a tool of propaganda. This

new found enthusiasm was undoubtedly inspired by Catholic attacks, by Jesuits in general and Robert Bellarmine in particular. In 1599 Philippe de Marnix (1538-98), in his Tableau des differens de la religion, made an analogy between the medieval persecutions and Revelation.[50] Flacius Illyricus' Catalogus Testium Veritatis was printed in Geneva by Simon Goulard in 1597 and 1608 and was used to add to his editions of the Book of Martyrs.[51] The seventeenth century saw the Huguenot characterization of the pope as antichrist flourish with unprecedented vigour.

The doctrine of the papal antichrist was adopted by the national synod of 1603 as an article of the Confession of Faith of the French Reformed Churches. This was confirmed at the synod of 1607: 'the article concerning the Antichrist inserted at the synod of Gap, to be the 31st of our Confession of Faith ... has been approved ... to be ... true to what was predicted in the Scriptures'. A commission for the writing of a book on the antichrist was issued at the same synod: 'Monsieur Vignier is asked to put pen to paper to deal fully with the matter of the Antichrist, & to bring, or to send his work at the next National Synod'.[52]

Nicolas Vignier was the son and namesake of Henri IV's surgeon, and after his father converted back to Catholicism in 1579, he took up his work and published his ecclesiastical history in 1601. This large folio history of the True Church devotes a considerable amount of space to the medieval persecutions of the papal antichrist in a section comprising no less than 167 pages.[53] Vignier was also the author of a defence of the Protestant doctrine of the antichrist against Cardinal Bellarmine which was published anonymously in 1606.[54] In 1609, the national synod of St Maixent

acknowledged the progress of Vignier whose Theatre de L'Antechrist was sent to Saumur where it was printed in 1610.[55] This large folio was clearly intended to be the final word in the matter of the antichrist and responded directly to Florimond de Raemond's antimartyrology, François Ribera's commentary on Revelation, and to the works of the Jesuits Pierre Cotton and Cardinal Bellarmine.[56]

In the face of these arguments, Nicolas Vignier argued in L'Antechrist Romain that the persecution of the middle ages had been worse than those of the early church:

> Since those times have we seen more horrendous butchery and more cruel persecutions exerted against the Saints? It is true that medieval persecutions cannot be compared to those of Nero, Domitian, Decius or Diocletian: Because there were but physical, whereas the former were spiritual as well as physical. The first persecutions were interspersed, and lasted but a few months, or a few years. But the medieval ones continued unabated for several centuries. The first ones took several thousand martyrs. Whereas the later ones took unumerable multitudes. A chronicler counts 17 thousand Christians killed in one month under Diocletian. Bellarmine, while recounting the prowess of the Roman Church, counts 100 000 Albigensians killed in one day under the Papacy of Innocent III.[57]

This marks a striking departure from the earlier period where the representation of martyrdom had hinged on a comparison with the early church martyrs. Vignier's insistence on the hardships of the medieval martyrs of the true Church reflects the newfound impact of anti-popery on French Protestant culture. Nicolas Vignier resorted to arguments that had been used in the English and Lutheran traditions and gave them a

new spin in the context of polemic against the Jesuits.[58]

The specificity of the Huguenot identity is reflected in the special attention that was given to the Albigensians.[59] French Reformed Churches in the southern provinces felt a particularly strong kinship with the Albigensians because of the geographical coincidence of the movement with their own. In 1572, the National Synod of Montauban issued a commission which was probably at the origin of Jean Chassanion's Histoire des Albigeois published in Geneva in 1595.[60] The same National Synod that commissioned the Theatre de L'Antechrist, also commissioned a second history of the Albigensians in 1607.[61] It was completed and published as Jean-Paul Perrin's Histoire des Albigeois (1618) and was extensively quoted in the 1619 edition of the Book of Martyrs.[62]

In the seventeenth century, Huguenot self-perception and identity relied heavily on the production of alternative histories such as the Book of Martyrs and the Theatre de L'Antichrist. It is remarkable that anti-papal arguments that had been available to the French Protestants in the shape of the Catalogus Testium Veritatis or the Acts and Monuments were not used before. It could be argued that the different political contexts of the respective Protestant traditions, English, Lutheran and Huguenot, prevented these arguments from being readily used. It is not until the early seventeenth century, when the Catholic Reformation began to have an impact throughout Europe, that the different Protestant traditions made common cause beyond their theological differences.

The specificity of the French Gallican Church may explain why anti-papal arguments had to be modified in the Huguenot context. The institutionalisation of the Church of

England, for example, intensified the need for proof of a visible Church in the Middle Ages. The English tradition used the medieval martyrs of the True Church to create something akin to an apostolic succession of the True Church. This view was elaborated upon by James Ussher who argued for an unbroken historical link between the Apostles and Luther.[63] A 1711 English translation of Perrin's History of the Albigensians even argued for an unbroken succession from the middle ages to the sixteenth century: 'And from the Holy Men of that Age the Lamp of pure Doctrine was handed down to Bertram, from him to Peter Bruis to Waldo, from Waldo, to Dulcinus, from him to Marsilius, from him to Wickliff, from him to Hus and Jerom of Prague, and from their Scholars, the Fratres Bohemi, to Luther and Calvin'.[64] This contrasted markedly with the Huguenot use of the medieval martyrs which merely testified to the continuing existence of the True Church at the times of the persecution of the antichrist. The lack of political patronage, strict opposition to episcopacy, as well as the nature of Gallicanism, made the English arguments unworkable. It was only after the French Reformed Churches achieved a degree of political legitimacy with the Edict of Nantes in 1598, that the importance of the English arguments was acknowledged.

***

Catholics and Huguenots not only fought doctrinally and physically but also created competing narratives and representations of the other. Huguenot self-perception and identity was born of the dialectic between these competing narratives. In the first instance, a comparison with the early church emerged on the eve of the French Wars of Religion, providing the Huguenots with their best arguments. With the politicization of

the conflict, however, the representation of martyrdom became inoperative as the Huguenots were involved in armed rebellion against the monarch. St Bartholomew's Day massacre marked the transformation of Huguenot identity in inspiring a comparison with the collective martyrdom of medieval predecessors. Simon Goulard's four editions of the Book of Martyrs between 1582 and 1619 illustrates this progression as he included more and more material borrowed from the Lutheran and English traditions. At the turn of the seventeenth century, anti-popery became an essential element of Huguenot self-perception and identity, mirroring a similar phenomenon across the channel.[65]

One can draw some tentative conclusions about the elaboration of a distinct Huguenot identity from this reappraisal of the Book of Martyrs. The French culture of martyrdom did not flow outwards from Geneva, but was the result of a dialogue with its French outposts. The Huguenot tradition of martyrdom was not monolithic but dynamic, and it followed the events that shaped the history of the movement. The Book of Martyrs owes a great deal more to the Catholic adversary, and to its Lutheran and English counterparts, than might have been expected. The Huguenot movement was nonetheless distinct, as it formulated original responses to problems that were specific to the French context. In this regard, the unique position of the crown of France, and the ambiguous approach of the Huguenots to royal power, were determining factors.

[1] Brad S. Gregory, Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe (Harvard, 1999), p. 76.

[2] David El Kenz, Les Bûchers du Roi: la Culture Protestante des Martyrs (1523-1572)

(Paris, 1997), p. 72.

[3] Jean Calvin, Petit traité montrant que c'est que doit faire un homme fidèle connaissant la verité de l'Evangile quand il est entre les papistes, O. Millet (ed.), Oeuvres choisies (Paris, 1995), pp. 136-7.

[4] Jules Bonnet (ed.), Letters of John Calvin (Edinburgh, 1980), pp. 219, 223-4.

[5] 'Martyres veros non facit poena, sed causa', George Witzel, Discours des moeurs, tant des anciens heretiques que nouveaux Lutheriens & Calvinistes, auquel leur resemblance est clerement demonstrée (Paris, 1567), p. 11.

[6] Gui de Brès, La racine, source et fondement des Anabaptistes ou rebaptisez de nostre temps (Lyon, 1565), p. 62.

[7] Stanislas Hozius, Des sectes et heresies de nostre temps (Paris, 1561), pp. 136-7, 142.

[8] William G. Naphy, Calvin and the consolidation of the Genevan Reformation (Manchester, 1994), pp. 58, 73.

[9] Antoine de la Roche Chandieu, Histoire des persecutions, et martyrs de l'Eglise de Paris, depuis l'an 1557. Jusques au temps du Roy Charles neufviesme (Lyon, 1563), sigs dr-d2v.

[10] Antoine de Mouchy, Responce a quelque apologie que les heretiques ces jours passés ont mis en avant sous ce titre: Apologie ou deffence des bons Chrestiens contre les ennemis de l'Eglise catholique (Paris, 1558).

[11] Nicolas Des Gallars, Seconde apologie ou defense des vrais chrestiens, contre les calomnies impudentes des ennemis de l'Eglise catholique. Ou il est respondu aux diffames redoublez par un nommé Democharès docteur de la Sorbonne (Geneva, 1559).

[12] J. E. B. Mayor (ed.), Tertullian, Apologeticus (Cambridge, 1917), pp. 7, 25, 29, 31.

[13] 'Semen ecclesiae sanguis christianorum', Gregory, Salvation at Stake, p. 150.

[14] Jean-François Gilmont, Jean Crespin: un éditeur réformé du XVIe siècle (Geneva, 1981), pp. 169-170.

[15] See Paul Chaix, Recherches sur l'imprimerie a Genève de 1550 à 1564, (Geneva, 1978), p. 80.

[16] An., Complainte au peuple Francois, in [François Hotman], L'Histoire du tumulte d'Amboyse advenu au moys de Mars, M. D. LX. (1560), sig. D2^{r}.

[17] Robert Kingdon, Geneva and the coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555-1563 (Geneva, 1956), pp. 34, 93.

[18] Jules Bonnet (ed.), Letters of Calvin, 4 vols. (New York, 1972), vol. IV, p. 167.

[19] R. Kingdon ; On Calvin's own views see W. Nijenhuis, 'The limits of civil disobedience in Calvin's latest known sermons: the development of his ideas of the right of civil resistance', 'Ecclesia Reformata': Studies on the Reformation, 2 vols. (New York, 1994), vol. II, 73-97.

[20] Philip Benedict, 'The Dynamics of Protestant Militancy: France, 1555-1563', in P. Benedict, G. Marnef et al. (eds), Reformation, Revolt, and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555-1585 (Amsterdam, 1999), 35-50.

[21] [See Penny Roberts' paper p.# (6 on your copy, Andrew)]

[22] David Nicholls, 'The Theatre of Martyrdom', Past and Present 121 (1988), 49-73, p. 69.

[23] François Hotman, L'Histoire du tumulte d'Amboyse advenu au moys de Mars, M. D.

LX. (s. l., 1560), sig. C1^{v}.

[24] Augustin Marlorat, Remonstrance a la royne mere du Roy, par ceux qui sont persecutez pour la parole de DIEU. En laquelle ils rendent raison des principaux articles de la Religion, & qui sont aujourdhuy en dispute (Paris, 1561), sigs. B5^{v}-B6^{v}.

[25] Chandieu, Histoire des persecutions, sig. a1^{v}.

[26] An., Complainte apologique des eglises de France, au roy, royne-mere, roy de Navarre, & autres du conseil (s. l., 1561), sig. E1^{v}.

[27] An., La Maniere d'appaiser les troubles, qui sont maintenant en France, & y pourront estre cy apres: A la Royne mere du Roy (Lyon, 1561), sigs. B2r-C1v.

[28] A. Duke, G. Lewis et al. (eds.), Calvinism in Europe 1540-1610: A Collection of documents (Manchester, 1992), p. 80.

[29] Gregory, Salvation at Stake, p. 326; Bèze, Histoire Ecclesiastique, I, pp. 234, 236; Popelinière, L'Histoire de France, fol. 148^{v}.

[30] Chandieu Histoire des persecutions, sigs. x7^{r}-x8^{r}.

[31] Théodore de Bèze, Histoire Ecclesiastique des Eglises Reformes au Royaume de France, 3 vols. (Anvers, 1580), vol. I, p. 228; Lancelot du Voisin de la Popelinière, L'Histoire de France enrichie des plus notables occurances survenues ez Provinces de l'Europe & pays voisins, 2 vols. (La Rochelle, 1581), vol. I, fol. 147^{v}.

[32] El Kenz, Les Bûchers du Roi, p. 188.

[33] El Kenz, Les Bûchers du Roi, pp. 237, 69 (n. 3).

[34] Jean Crespin, Histoire des Martyrs persecutez et mis a mort pour la verité de l'Evangile, depuis le temps des Apostres jusques à l'an 1574 (Geneva, 1582), fol. 704b.

[35] Duke et al. (eds.), Calvinism in Europe, p. 113.

[36] Robert M. Kingdon, Myths about the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres 1572-1576 (London, 1988).

[37] Euan Cameron, 'Medieval Heretics as Protestant Martyrs', Studies in Church History 30 (1993), 185-207.

[38] Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Catalogus Testium Veritatis (Basel, 1556); John Foxe, Acts and Monuments (London, 1563).

[39] Luc Racaut, 'The Polemical Use of the Albigensian Crusade during the French Wars of Religion', French History 13 (1999), 261-279.

[40] Christmas (ed.), 'Select Works of John Bale', p. 563.

[41] John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, (1570), fol. 295^{r}.

[42] Crespin, Histoire des Martyrs (1582), fol. 25b; Ibid. (1619), fol. 23^{r}.

[43] See Alan James' paper.

[44] Irena Backus, Les Sept Visions et la Fin Des Temps: les commentaires Genevois de l'*Apocalypse* entre 1539 et 1584 (Geneva, 1997).

[45] Le Nouveau Testament c'est à dire, la nouvelle alliance de nostre seigneur Jesus Christ (Geneva, 1577), p. 682; La Bible qui toute la saincte escriture du vieil & du nouveau testament (Geneva, 1588), fol. 122^{v}.

[46] J. Aymon (ed.), Tous les Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformées de France, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1710), vol. I, p. 203.

[47] Claude-Gilbert Dubois, La conception de l'histoire en France au XVIe siècle, 1560-1610 (Paris, 1977), pp. 501-551.

[48] Fr. du Jon, Apocalypse ou Revelation de S. Jean Apostre Evangeliste de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, (Geneva, 1592), p. 208.

[49] Gerald T. Sheppard, 'The Geneva Bible and English Commentary, 1600-1645' in Sheppard (ed.), The Geneva Bible (New York, 1989), 1-4, p. 1; fol. 129b.

[50] Euan Cameron, The Reformation of the Heretics: the Waldenses of the Alps 1480-1580 (Oxford, 1984), p. 249.

[51] Goulard's two edition of the Catalogus Testium Veritatis correspond to his second and third edition of the Livre des Martyrs, in 1597 and 1608.

[52] Aymon (ed.), Tous les Synodes Nationaux, I, pp. 258, 303, 313, 316.

[53] Nicolas Vignier, Recueil de L'Histoire de l'Eglise, depuis le Baptseme de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, jusques à ce temps (Leyden, 1601), pp. 408, 374-541.

[54] L'Antechrist Romain, Opposé à l'Antechrist Juif du Cardinal de Bellarmin, du Sieur de Remond & autres (s.l., 1606); Robert Bellarmine, Disputationes de controversiis Christianae fidei adversus hujus temporis haereticos, 3 vols. (Ingolstadt, 1586-93).

[55] Aymon (ed.), Tous les Synodes Nationaux, I, p. 36; Cameron, Reformation of the Heretics, p. 249.

[56] Nicolas Vignier, Theatre de L'Antechrist Auquel est respondu au Cardinal Bellarmin, au sieur de Remond, à Perenius, Ribera, Viergas, Sanderus et autres qui par leurs escrits condamnent la doctrine des Eglises Reformees sur ce subiet: Par Nicolas Vignier. (Saumur, 1610).

[57] Vignier, L'Antechrist Romain, pp. 159-60.

[58] Nicolas Vignier, Apologie Catholique de la doctrine des Eglises Reformees (Saumur,

1617).

[59] Racaut, ‘The Polemical Use of the Albigensian Crusade’.

[60] Jean Chassanion, Histoire des Albigeois: touchant leur doctrine & religion, contre les faux bruits qui ont esté semés d’eux, & les ecris dont on les a à tort diffamés : & de la cruelle & longue guerre qui leur a esté faite, pour ravir les terres & seigneuries d’autrui, sous couleur de vouloir extirpé l’hérésie (Geneva, 1595).

[61] Aymon (ed.), Tous les Synodes Nationaux, II, pp. 123, 316.

[62] Crespin, Histoire des Martyrs (1619), fol. 22^{r}.

[63] James Ussher, De Christianorum Ecclesiarum successione et statu Historica Explicatio (London, 1613).

[64] Jean Paul Perrin, The History of the Old Waldenses and Albigenses; Those Two Glorious Witnesses to the Truth of Christianity: In Opposition to the Antichristianism of Rome, In the several ages preceding the Reformation (London, 1711), p. 73, note c.

[65] P. Lake, 'Anti-popery: the Structure of a Prejudice', in R. Cust and A. Hughes (eds.), Conflict in early Stuart England: studies in religion and politics, 1603-1642 (London, 1989), 72-106, p. 82.